

For Six Month Period Ending April 30, 2008
(Insert date)

I - REGISTRANT

1. (a) Name of Registrant (b) Registration No.

Moroccan-American Center for Policy, Inc.

5648

- (c) Business Address(es) of Registrant

1101 Vermont Avenue, NW Suite 411
Washington, DC 20005

2. Has there been a change in the information previously furnished in connection with the following:

- (a) If an individual:
- | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1) Residence address | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Citizenship | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Occupation | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input type="checkbox"/> |
- (b) If an organization:
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (1) Name | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Ownership or control | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Branch offices | Yes <input type="checkbox"/> | No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
- (c) Explain fully all changes, if any, indicated in items (a) and (b) above.

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IF THE REGISTRANT IS AN INDIVIDUAL, OMIT RESPONSE TO ITEMS 3, 4 AND 5(a).

3. If you have previously filed Exhibit C¹, state whether any changes therein have occurred during this 6 month reporting period.

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an amendment to the Exhibit C? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

¹ The Exhibit C, for which no printed form is provided, consists of a true copy of the charter, articles of incorporation, association, and by laws of a registrant that is an organization. (A waiver of the requirement to file an Exhibit C may be obtained for good cause upon written application to the Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530.)

4. (a) Have any persons ceased acting as partners, officers, directors or similar officials of the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position	Date connection ended
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- (b) Have any persons become partners, officers, directors or similar officials during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence address	Citizenship	Position	Date assumed
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5. (a) Has any person named in item 4(b) rendered services directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒ N/A

If yes, identify each such person and describe his service.

- (b) Have any employees or individuals, who have filed a short form registration statement, terminated their employment or connection with the registrant during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Position or connection	Date terminated
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- (c) During this 6 month reporting period, has the registrant hired as employees or in any other capacity, any persons who rendered or will render services to the registrant directly in furtherance of the interests of any foreign principal(s) in other than a clerical or secretarial, or in a related or similar capacity? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name	Residence address	Citizenship	Position	Date assumed
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6. Have short form registration statements been filed by all of the persons named in Items 5(a) and 5(c) of the supplemental statement? Yes ☐ No ☒ N/A

If no, list names of persons who have not filed the required statement.

II - FOREIGN PRINCIPAL

7. Has your connection with any foreign principal ended during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal

Date of termination

8. Have you acquired any new foreign principal² during this 6 month reporting period?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name and address of foreign principal

Date acquired

9. In addition to those named in Items 7 and 8, if any, list foreign principals² whom you continued to represent during the 6 month reporting period.

Government of the Kingdom of Morocco

10. **EXHIBITS A AND B**

(a) Have you filed for each of the newly acquired foreign principals in Item 8 the following:

Exhibit A ³	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
Exhibit B ⁴	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

N/A

If no, please attach the required exhibit.

(b) Have there been any changes in the Exhibits A and B previously filed for any foreign principal whom you represented during the 6 month period? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an amendment to these exhibits? Yes ☐ No ☐

If no, please attach the required amendment.

² The term "foreign principal" includes, in addition to those defined in Section 1(b) of the Act, an individual organization any of whose activities are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a foreign government, foreign political party, foreign organization or foreign individual. (See Rule 100(a) (9).) A registrant who represents more than one foreign principal is required to list in the statements he files under the Act only those principals for whom he is not entitled to claim exemption under Section 3 of the Act. (See Rule 208.)

³ The Exhibit A, which is filed on Form CRM-157 (Formerly OBD-67), sets forth the information required to be disclosed concerning each foreign principal.

⁴ The Exhibit B, which is filed on Form CRM-155 (Formerly OBD-65), sets forth the information concerning the agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal.

III - ACTIVITIES

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11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

See Attachment A

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12. During this 6 month reporting period, have you on behalf of any foreign principal engaged in political activity⁵ as defined below? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail all such political activity, indicating, among other things, the relations, interests and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored or delivered speeches, lectures or radio and TV broadcasts, give details as to dates and places of delivery, names of speakers and subject matter.

See Attachment A

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13. In addition to the above described activities, if any, have you engaged in activity on your own behalf which benefits any or all of your foreign principals? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, describe fully.

All activities undertaken during this reporting period were conducted on the behalf of the Registrant, The Moroccan-American Center for Policy, Inc. (MACP)

⁵ The term "political activities" means any activity that the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

IV - FINANCIAL INFORMATION

14. (a) RECEIPTS-MONIES

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal, any contributions, income or money either as compensation or otherwise? Yes ☒ No ☐

If no, explain why.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies⁶

Date	From whom	Purpose	Amount
2/28/08	Government of Morocco	Compensation for services (Q4 2007)	\$634,705.00
4/22/08	Government of Morocco	Compensation for services (Q1-Q4 2008)	\$1,517,762.00

\$2,149,467.00

Total

(b) RECEIPTS – FUND RAISING CAMPAIGN

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received, as part of a fund raising campaign⁷, any money on behalf of any foreign principal named in items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, have you filed an Exhibit D⁸ to your registration? Yes ☐ No ☐

If yes, indicate the date the Exhibit D was filed. Date _____

(c) RECEIPTS – THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you received any thing of value⁹ other than money from any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement, or from any other source, for or in the interests of any such foreign principal? Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, furnish the following information:

Name of foreign principal	Date received	Description of thing of value	Purpose
See Attachment A			

^{6, 7} A registrant is required to file an Exhibit D if he collects or receives contributions, loans, money, or other things of value for a foreign principal, as part of a fund raising campaign. (See Rule 201(e).)

⁸ An Exhibit D, for which no printed form is provided, sets forth an account of money collected or received as a result of a fund raising campaign and transmitted for a foreign principal.

⁹ Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks," and the like.

15. (a) **DISBURSEMENTS – MONIES**

During this 6 month reporting period, have you

(1) disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement? Yes ☒ No ☐

(2) transmitted monies to any such foreign principal? Yes ☐ No ☒

If no, explain in full detail why there were no disbursements made on behalf of any foreign principal.

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately for each foreign principal an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any, to each foreign principal.

Date	To whom	Purpose	Amount
See Attachment A			

\$305.00
Total

(b) DISBURSEMENTS – THINGS OF VALUE

During this 6 month reporting period, have you disposed of anything of value¹⁰ other than money in furtherance of or in connection with activities on behalf of any foreign principal named in Items 7, 8, and 9 of this statement?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date disposed	Name of person to whom given	On behalf of what foreign principal	Description of thing of value	Purpose
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(c) DISBURSEMENTS – POLITICAL CONTRIBUTIONS

During this 6 month reporting period, have you from your own funds and on your own behalf either directly or through any other person, made any contributions of money or other things of value¹¹ in connection with an election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election, convention, or caucus held to select candidates for political office?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, furnish the following information:

Date	Amount or thing of value	Name of political organization	Name of candidate
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See Attachment
A

^{10, 11} Things of value include but are not limited to gifts, interest free loans, expense free travel, favored stock purchases, exclusive rights, favored treatment over competitors, "kickbacks" and the like.

V - INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS

16. During this 6 month reporting period, did you prepare, disseminate or cause to be disseminated any informational materials ¹²?
 Yes ☒ No ☐

IF YES, RESPOND TO THE REMAINING ITEMS IN SECTION V.

17. Identify each such foreign principal.

Government of the Kingdom of Morocco

18. During this 6 month reporting period, has any foreign principal established a budget or allocated a specified sum of money to finance your activities in preparing or disseminating informational materials? Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, identify each such foreign principal, specify amount, and indicate for what period of time.

See Attachment A

19. During this 6 month reporting period, did your activities in preparing, disseminating or causing the dissemination of informational materials include the use of any of the following:

- | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Radio or TV broadcasts | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Magazine or newspaper articles | <input type="checkbox"/> Motion picture films | <input type="checkbox"/> Letters or telegrams |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Advertising campaigns | <input type="checkbox"/> Press releases | <input type="checkbox"/> Pamphlets or other publications | <input type="checkbox"/> Lectures or speeches |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Internet | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ | | |

20. During this 6 month reporting period, did you disseminate or cause to be disseminated informational materials among any of the following groups:

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Public Officials | <input type="checkbox"/> Newspapers | <input type="checkbox"/> Libraries |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Legislators | <input type="checkbox"/> Editors | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Educational institutions |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Government agencies | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Civic groups or associations | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Nationality groups |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____ | | |

21. What language was used in the informational materials:

- ☒ English ☐ Other (specify) _____

22. Did you file with the Registration Unit, U.S. Department of Justice a copy of each item of such informational materials disseminated or caused to be disseminated during this 6 month reporting period? Yes ☒ No ☐

23. Did you label each item of such informational materials with the statement required by Section 4(b) of the Act? Yes ☒ No ☐

12 The term informational materials includes any oral, visual, graphic, written, or pictorial information or matter of any kind, including that published by means of advertising, books, periodicals, newspapers, lectures, broadcasts, motion pictures, or any means or instrumentality of interstate or foreign commerce or otherwise. Informational materials disseminated by an agent of a foreign principal as part of an activity in itself exempt from registration, or an activity which by itself would not require registration, need not be filed pursuant to Section 4(b) of the Act.

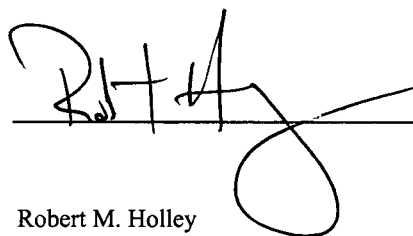
VI – EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. §1746, the undersigned swear(s) or affirm(s) under penalty of perjury that he/she has (they have) read the information set forth in this registration statement and the attached exhibits and that he/she is (they are) familiar with the contents thereof and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her (their) knowledge and belief, except that the undersigned make(s) no representation as to the truth or accuracy of the information contained in the attached Short Form Registration Statement(s), if any, insofar as such information is not within his/her (their) personal knowledge.

(Date of signature)

(Type or print name under each signature¹³)

May 24, 2008



Robert M. Holley

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¹³ This statement shall be signed by the individual agent, if the registrant is an individual, or by a majority of those partners, officers, directors or persons performing similar functions, if the registrant is an organization, except that the organization can, by power of attorney, authorize one or more individuals to execute this statement on its behalf.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FARA REGISTRATION UNIT
NATIONAL SECURITY DIVISION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

NOTICE

Please answer the following questions and return this sheet in triplicate with your Supplemental Statement:

1. Is your answer to Item 16 of Section V (Informational Materials – page 8 of Form NSD-2, formerly Form CRM-154 Supplemental Statement):

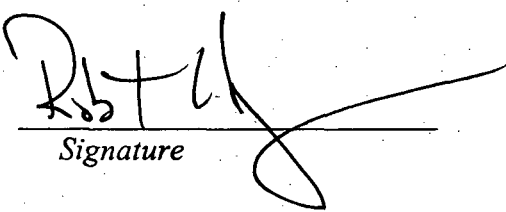
YES _____ or NO _____

(If your answer to question 1 is "yes" do not answer question 2 of this form.)

2. Do you disseminate any material in connection with your registration:

YES _____ or NO _____

(If your answer to question 2 is "yes" please forward for our review copies of all material including: films, film catalogs, posters, brochures, press releases, etc. which you have disseminated during the past six months.)



Signature

5/22/08

Date

Robert M. Holley
Please type or print name of
Signatory on the line above

Executive Director

Title

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U.S. Department of Justice

National Security Division

Washington, DC 20530

THIS FORM IS TO BE AN OFFICIAL ATTACHMENT TO YOUR CURRENT SUPPLEMENTAL
STATEMENT - PLEASE EXECUTE IN TRIPLICATE

SHORT-FORM REGISTRATION INFORMATION SHEET

SECTION A

The Department records list active short-form registration statements for the following persons of your organization filed on the date indicated by each name. If a person is not still functioning in the same capacity directly on behalf of the foreign principal, please show the date of termination.

Short Form List for Registrant: Moroccan-American Center for Policy, Inc.

Last Name	First Name and Other Names	Registration Date	Termination Date	Role
AbiNader	Jean Jr.,	10/01/2004		
Gabriel	Edward M.	10/01/2004		
Holley	Robert Michael	10/01/2004		
Dark, II	Ralph Calvin	06/01/2005		
Paul	Jordan Christopher	06/04/2007		

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U.S. Department of Justice

National Security Division

Washington, DC 20530

SECTION B

In addition to those persons listed in Section A, list below all current employees rendering services directly on behalf of the foreign principals(s) who have not filed short-form registration statements. (Do not list clerks, secretaries, typists or employees in a similar or related capacity). If there is some question as to whether an employee has an obligation to file a short-form, please address a letter to the Registration Unit describing the activities and connection with the foreign principal.

Name	Function	Date Hired
N/A		

Signature: [Signature]

Date: 5/22/08

Title: Executive Director

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ATTACHMENT A

Response to Questions 11 and 12

Activities on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco: The Registrant's **Executive Director** provided strategic counsel to the GOM on their bilateral relations with the United States. Briefed US journalists, and members and staff of Congress on issues related to US-Morocco relations, to include:

- General Moroccan-American relations.
- Political reform and human rights developments in Morocco.
- US assistance issues related to Morocco.
- Moroccan-Algerian bilateral relations.
- Morocco's role in the Middle East Peace Process.
- Developments in North Africa.
- Morocco and the Western Sahara.

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Date	Contact Name	Organization	Contact	Topics
	Desmond Butler	AP	Meeting	Western Sahara

Activities on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco (GOM): The Registrant's **Director of Government Affairs** provides strategic counsel to the GOM on their bilateral relations with the United States. He also briefs members and staff of Congress on issues related to US-Morocco relations, to include:

- General Moroccan-American relations.
- Political reform and human rights developments in Morocco.
- US assistance issues related to Morocco.
- Moroccan-Algerian bilateral relations.
- Morocco's role in the Middle East Peace Process.
- Developments in North Africa.
- Morocco and the Western Sahara.
- Organized meetings for congressional staff with Moroccan officials.

DATE	CONTACT NAME	ORGANIZATION	CONTACT	TOPICS
11/5/2007	Chad Metzler	Sen. Kohl	email	meeting request
11/5/2007	Christopher Bradish	Sen. Specter	email	meeting request
11/6/2007	David Goldenberg	Rep. Alcee Hasting	email	Potential Visit to Morocco
11/7/2007	Tim Bergreen	Rep. Schiff	email	meeting request
11/9/2007	Michelle Sunilas	House Appropriations Committee	email	Morocco, Human Rights
11/13/2007	Janice Kaguyutan	Sen. Kennedy	email	meeting request
11/13/2007	Sen. McConnell	Sen. Mitch McConnell	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara, Human Rights
11/13/2007	Reb Brownell	Sen. Mitch McConnell	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara, Human Rights

11/13/2007	Tom Hawkins	Sen. Mitch McConnell	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara, Human Rights
11/13/2007	Tim Bergreen	Rep. Adam Schiff	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara, Human Rights
11/14/2007	Martin Bayr	Sen. Sununu	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
11/15/2007	Nathan Graham	Sen. Bennett	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
11/15/2007	Joshua Kremer	Sen. Bond	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
11/15/2007	James Pitchford	Sen. Bond	email	Morocco Western Sahara
11/15/2007	Rachelle Johnson	Sen. Cochran	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
11/15/2007	Alan Makovsky	House Foreign Relations Committee	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
11/20/2007	Chad Metzler	Sen. Kohl	email	meeting request
11/20/2007	Christopher Bradish	Sen. Specter	email	meeting request
11/20/2007	Richard Fontaine	Sen. McCain	email	meeting request
11/29/2007	Jessica Lewis	Sen. Harry Reid	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara, Human Rights
12/5/2007	Martin Bayr	Sen. Sununu	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
12/5/2007	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	email	Morocco update
12/6/2007	Howard Diamond	Rep. Ackerman	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
12/7/2007	Richard Fontaine	Sen. John McCain	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara,
12/13/2007	Autumn Morley	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	email	Morocco, Western Sahara
12/13/2007	Rep. Sue Myrick	Rep. Sue Myrick	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Jane Harman	Rep. Jane Harman	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart	Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. John Carter	Rep. John Carter	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Bud Cramer	Rep. Bud Cramer	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Bill Shuster	Rep. Bill Shuster	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Zach Wamp	Rep. Zach Wamp	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. John Shaddegg	Rep. John Shaddegg	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Joe Wilson	Rep. Joe Wilson	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Rep. Marsh Blackburn	Rep. Marsh Blackburn	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror

12/13/2007	Rep. Michelle Bachman	Rep. Michelle Bachman	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Autumn Morley	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Tina O'Hare	Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/13/2007	Helen Hardin	Rep. Zach Wamp	meeting	Morocco, Anti-Terrorism cooperation, War on Terror
12/17/2007	Tim Bergreen	Rep. Schiff	email	Morocco, Human Rights
12/17/2007	Michelle Sumilas	House Appropriations Committee	email	Morocco, Human Rights
12/18/2007	Alan Makovsky	House Foreign Relations Committee	email	Morocco, Human Rights
12/21/2007	Nilda Pedrosa	Sen. Martinez	email	U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations
1/2/2008	Nilda Pedrosa	Sen. Martinez	email	U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations
1/3/2008	Nilda Pedrosa	Sen. Martinez	email	U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations
1/30/2008	Puneet Talwar	Senate Foreign Relations Committee	conversation	Morocco, Western Sahara
1/30/2008	Alan Makovsky	House Foreign Relations Committee	conversation	Morocco, Western Sahara
1/30/2008	Randall Kaailau	U.S. Department of State	conversation	Morocco, Western Sahara
1/31/2008	Sen. Martinez	Sen. Martinez	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
1/31/2008	John Goetchius	Sen. Martinez	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
2/15/2008	John Goetchius	Sen. Martinez	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
2/15/2008	Victor Martinez	Sen. Martinez	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
2/19/2008	Franklin Barca	Sen. Gregg	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
2/26/2008	Rep. Berman	Rep. Berman	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
2/26/2008	Alan Makovsky	House Foreign Relations Committee	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
2/26/2008	Gene Smith	Rep. Berman	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
2/26/2008	Daniel Harsha	Rep. Berman	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
2/26/2008	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
3/3/2008	Autumn Morley	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
3/18/2008	Jen Stewart	Rep. Boehner	meeting	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
3/20/2008	Jen Stewart	Rep. Boehner	email	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara

3/20/2008	Chelsea Hickman	Rep. Granger	email	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
3/20/2008	Mary Carpenter	Rep. Carter	email	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
3/24/2008	Jen Stewart	Rep. Boehner	email	Morocco, U.S.-Morocco bilateral relations, Western Sahara
3/27/2008	Megen Medley	Rep. Aderholt	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jason Britt	Rep. Bachus	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Amber Shipley	Rep. Baldwin	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Neely Marcus	Rep. Abercrombie	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Robert Boland	Rep. Aderholt	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jeremy Kadden	Rep. Berkley	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ashley Jones	Rep. Barrow	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Brian Diffell	Rep. Blunt	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Collin Vause	Rep. Bilirakis	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jessica Lemos	Rep. Boren	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Michael Hare	Rep. Boustany	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Christian Ziegler	Rep. Buchanan	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Mike Hopkins	Rep. Brady	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Steve Peterson	Rep. Bishop	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Tim Welter	Rep. Buyer	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kristin Jackson	Rep. Burton	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Christina Tsafoulis	Rep. Capuano	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Shimmy Stein	Rep. Cantor	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kevin Fitzpatrick	Rep. Chabot	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Gregg Sheiowitz	Rep. Crowley	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update

3/27/2008	Michael Ryan	Rep. Cramer	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Amanda Foster	Rep. Davis	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jason Rosenberg	Rep. Davis	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Brett Rembeck	Rep. Costa	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ellis Chaplin	Rep. Deal	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kate Murtha	Rep. Dingell	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Shannon Scott	Rep. Duncan	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Dena Kozanas	Rep. Drake	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ben Gielow	Rep. Ehlers	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kate Ryan	Rep. Bishop	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jason Steinbaum	Rep. Engel	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jeff Murray	Rep. Feeney	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Peter Sperry	Rep. English	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ryan Kaldahl	Rep. Forbes	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Amanda Tharpe	Rep. Ferguson	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Brandon Renz	Rep. Foxx	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Brendan Williams	Rep. Fossella	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Diana Tasnadi	Rep. Fortenberry	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Eve Lieberman	Rep. Hastings	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Daniel McGlinchey	Rep. Frank	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Richard Mereau	Rep. Gallegly	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Matt Iandoli	Rep. Cannon	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Steve Wilson	Rep. Frelinghuysen	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update

3/27/2008	Carrie Meadows	Rep. Goodlatte	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Andrew Wimer	Rep. Garrett	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	David Plunkett	Rep. Gordon	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jay Hulings	Rep. Harman	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jenny Gorski	Rep. Hastings	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jonathon Osborne	Rep. Gingrey	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Andy Tatillo	Rep. Higgins	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Moira Campion	Rep. Hinchey	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Angelle Kwemo	Rep. Jefferson	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Connie Humphrey	Rep. Hinojosa	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Emily Boening	Rep. Kaptur	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Mira Kogen	Rep. Klein	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Heather McHugh	Rep. Israel	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Mariah Sixkiller	Rep. Hoyer	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Bentley Graves	Rep. King	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Darren Thankser	Rep. Herger	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jeffry Glenn	Rep. Kingston	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Joshua Bowlen	Rep. Jones	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Glen Downs	Rep. Jones	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Lindsay Lee	Rep. Knollenberg	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Valentina Valenta	Rep. Linder	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kevin Modlin	Rep. Lewis	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Erin Reif	Rep. LaHood	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update

3/27/2008	Lance Seibenhener	Rep. LoBiondo	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Sandra Wiseman	Rep. Lungren	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Francis Gibbs	Rep. Mack	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jennifer Keaton	Rep. Maloney	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Nien Su	Rep. Manzullo	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jeff Duncan	Rep. Markey	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Mike Bendell	Rep. Marshall	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Neeta Bidwai	Rep. Matheson	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ari Stein	Rep. McCaul	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Bill Jorch	Rep. McCarthy	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Anne LeMay	Rep. McHugh	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Brian Waldrip	Rep. Mica	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Semhar Araia	Rep. Moran	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Sara Waters	Rep. Miller	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	EJ Kimball	Rep. Myrick	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Carole Angel	Rep. Nadler	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Tuley Wright	Rep. Pallone	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kendra Fowler	Rep. Nunes	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Patricia Villareal	Rep. Ortiz	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Tyler Schwartz	Rep. Petri	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Marian Lawson	Rep. Pastor	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	LeAnne Holdman	Rep. Pence	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Dan Honlan	Rep. Renzi	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update

3/27/2008	Donna Diehl	Rep. Price	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Mike Lipski	Rep. Pickering	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Delisa Lay	Rep. Poe	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Kristin Moore	Rep. Rogers	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Joan Condon	House Foreign Relations Committee	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Marisa Sturza	Rep. Sanchez	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Shelley Stoneman	Rep. Rothman	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Aaron Brand	Rep. Schwartz	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	George Sullivan	Rep. Serrano	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Megam Milam	Rep. Simpson	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Don McDonald	House Foreign Relations Committee	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Trista Wendell	Rep Shadegg	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Adam Howard	Rep. Souder	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Stephen Martinko	Rep. Shuster	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Sarah Preisser	Rep. Stearns	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	John Rainbolt	Rep. Sullivan	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Sammy Roth	Rep. Tancredo	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	CJ Lennon	Rep. LaTourette	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Carling Dinkler	Rep. Tanner	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Alon Kupferman	Rep. Wynn	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Carling Dinkler	Rep. Tanner	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Gary Woodward	Rep. Scott	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Harry Glenn	Rep. Young	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update

3/27/2008	Lauren Bernier	Rep. Kuhl	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jason Domingues	Rep. Tiberi	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Simon Limage	Rep. Tauscher	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Robert Marucs	Rep. Schakowski	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	David Torian	Rep. McNulty	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Megan Garcia	Rep. Schakowski	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Val Henry	Rep. Towns	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Scott Cunningham	Rep. Sessions	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Beth Bremmer	Rep. Smith	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Dori Friedberg	Rep. Weiner	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Laura Hooper	Rep. Watt	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Zahava Goldman	Rep. Waxman	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Shelley Rood	Rep. Wasserman Shultz	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ryan Fierst	Rep. Weldon	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Alan Tenille	Rep. Weller	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Scott Olson	Rep. Wu	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Jonathon Katz	Rep. Wexler	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Ken Cummings	Rep. Van Hollen	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Sheri Rickert	Rep. Smith	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
3/27/2008	Cory Hicks	Rep. Whitfield	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update
4/3/2008	Rep. EB Johnson	Rep. EB Johnson	meeting	Morocco, Women's Rights in Morocco
4/3/2008	Justin Grabell	Rep. Ginny Brown Waite	meeting	Morocco, Women's Rights in Morocco
4/22/2008	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart	email	Morocco, Western Sahara, Negotiations Update

4/23/2008	Chad Metzler	Sen. Kohl	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Lisa Teschler	Rep. Franks	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Erin Cockerham	Rep. Hayes	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Greta Moore	Rep. Kildee	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Lesley Parker	Rep. Boozman	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Sheri Rickert	Rep. Smith	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Michele Rager	Rep. Musgrave	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Jennifer Shirley	Rep. Hayes	email	meeting request
4/23/2008	Jennifer Pavlik	Rep. Pence	email	meeting request
4/24/2008	Alan Makovsky	House Foreign Relations Committee	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
4/24/2008	Hans Hogrefe	House Foreign Relations Committee	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
4/24/2008	Nien Su	House Foreign Relations Committee	meeting	Morocco, Western Sahara
4/25/2008	Hans Hogrefe	House Foreign Relations	email	meeting request
4/29/2008	Martin Bayr	Sen. Sununu	email	UN Security Council talks on Western Sahara
4/30/2008	Lesely Parker	Rep. Boozman	email	meeting request
4/30/2008	Chad Metzler	Sen. Kohl	email	meeting request
4/30/2008	Jennifer Pavlik	Rep. Pence	email	meeting request
4/30/2008	Michele Rager	Rep. Musgrave	email	meeting request

Activities on behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Morocco (GOM): The Registrant's **Communications Manager** provides daily reviews of the press and media outlets for listing on the MACP websites and provides a brief summary of each article; identifies studies, papers, research and other useful information that will be of interest to the website visitors; updates data on the websites as required; and provides basic formatting for documents, publications and materials distributed by MACP and also distribution of some of these materials.

Date	Contact Name	Organization	Contact Type	Reason
1/22/08	Wesley Pruden	Washington Times	Email	MACP Letter to the editor submission
3/26/08	Susan Parker	US Dept. of Labor	Email	Meeting Request
4/9/08	MAC Contact List for e-letter distribution	MAC Contact List for e-letter distribution	Email	Distribution of MACP Report: "Basic Findings from Interviews with Recent Returnees from Tindouf"
4/9/08	MACP Website Posting		Web Posting	MACP Statement: "POLISARIO Threats to Return to War Hinder Ongoing UN Negotiations"
4/28/08	David Mark	Politico	Email	Editorial Page Submission Request

**For the activities of the Registrant's Chairman, please refer to the report filed under
The Gabriel Company, LLC**

Response to Question 14 (c)

Name of foreign principal	Date received	Description of thing of value	Purpose
Kingdom of Morocco	11/4-11/9	Airline ticket, lodging, meals	Advise Government of Morocco on regional security issues.
Kingdom of Morocco	11/18-11/28	Airline ticket, lodging, meals	Advise Government of Morocco on regional security issues
Kingdom of Morocco	1/13-2/7	Airline ticket, lodging, meals	Interview recent returnee from Tindouf camps
Kingdom of Morocco	1/13-1/30	Airline ticket, lodging, meals	Interview recent returnee from Tindouf camps
Kingdom of Morocco	3/1-3/4	Airline ticket, lodging, meals	Advise Government of Morocco on regional security issues
Kingdom of Morocco	3/23-4/14	Airline ticket, lodging, meals	Interview recent returnee from Tindouf camps

Response to Question 15 (a) and (c)

a) Disbursements - Monies

FARA Registration Supplemental Filing – November 27, 2007 - \$305.00

Office Expenses

			Nov '07 - Apr 08	
Projects				
	OTC		11,221.75	
	Family Reunification		1,604.32	
Payroll	Payroll Taxes		111,054.03	
	Employees		213,535.36	
	Consultants		332,523.32	
	Insurance		12,936.00	
	Payroll Processing		1,169.25	
General Operations	Lease (Water & Coffee)		20.32	
	Licenses/Fees/Permits		305.00	
	Petty Cash		540.00	
	Retirement		2,937.50	
	Total Bank Service		199.60	

	Charges			
	Dues and Subscriptions		2,254.69	
	Parking		1,855.20	
	Postage & Delivery		107.35	
	Rent		31,277.12	
	Security		37.50	
	Telephone		1,485.97	
	Web/Internet/Email Hosting		7,328.78	
	Office Equipment		5,446.13	
	Office Supplies		1,781.81	
	Printing and Reproduction		280.75	
	Professional Fees		19,623.97	
	Meals & Ent. - DC		925.83	*
	Travel		6,533.58	*

*No US Government officials or media representatives were guests for whom any of these expenses were incurred.

c) Disbursements – Political contributions

Date	Amount	Name of Political Org	Name of Candidate
11/15/2007	\$1,000	Ros-Lehtinen for Congress	Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
2/26/2008	\$1,000	Lincoln Diaz-Balart for Congress	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart
4/29/2008	\$500	Coleman for Senate	Sen. Norm Coleman
1/11/2008	\$2,300	John McCain 2008	Sen. John McCain

Please note that these contributions were made by the Registrant's Director of Government Affairs.

The Registrant – The Moroccan American Center for Policy, Inc. – did not make any contributions.

Date	Amount	Name of Political Org	Name of Candidate
03/2007	\$1000	Hillary Clinton for President	Hillary Clinton

Please note that these contributions were made by the Registrant's Executive Director. The Registrant – The Moroccan American Center for Policy, Inc. – did not make any contributions.

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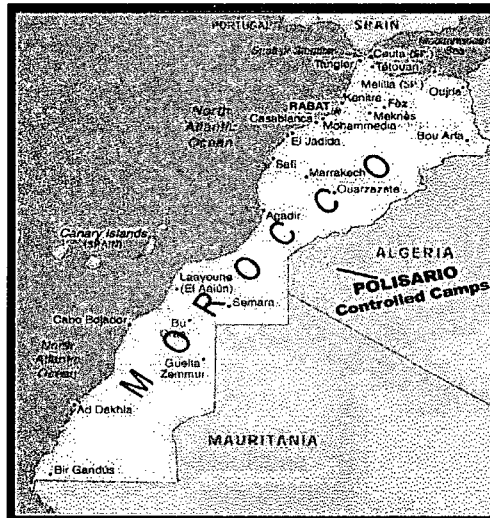
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Basic Findings from Interviews with Recent Returnees from Tindouf¹

Introduction

They saw the Algerian helicopter chasing the truck they were fleeing in. They jumped from the truck and ran for about a kilometer to safety with the Moroccan security forces. Two of them made it. Five had to go back. They do not know what happened to them..

Tens of thousands of refugees are currently being held by the Polisario Front, an Algerian-backed separatist group, in one of the most inhospitable environments on Earth—the Sahara desert. Yet most of the world doesn't know about them... For over 30 years these people, who belong to various tribes known as Sahrawis, have been caught in the middle of a conflict over the future of the Western Sahara. This territory, historically linked to Morocco, was once colonized by Spain, an occupation opposed by the Polisario Front. When Spain withdrew, Morocco reasserted its historic ties to its southern region, only to be rebuffed by the Polisario, which demanded independence until their control. Since that time, the Polisario Front continues to prolong the dispute—and the suffering—of the refugees held in the Tindouf camps of southern Algeria.²



In 2007, Morocco launched an historic initiative to resolve the conflict through a credible political compromise – full autonomy under Moroccan sovereignty. While negotiations based on this proposal carry on under UN auspices, the plight of the refugees drags on. The prospects for a near-term solution are hard to determine. Yet something must be done to help the refugees. Since the conflict began, numerous NGOs and United Nations organizations have tried to shed light on the

¹ This report was compiled from face-to-face interviews in the south of Morocco conducted in January 2008 by Robert M. Holley, former Foreign Service Officer and Executive Director of the Moroccan American Center for Policy (MACP); and Jordan Paul, Director of Government Affairs at MACP.

² For more information on the conflict in the Western Sahara, including Morocco's historic autonomy initiative, please visit www.moroccanamericanpolicy.org.

harsh conditions of life in the refugee camps and to ensure that those detained there enjoy basic freedoms. Very few people are listening. Little is known about the conditions of refugee life in the camps around Tindouf, Algeria, because information in and out of the camps is so tightly controlled. There is little information about the status of the refugees. Some critical questions:

- Are their basic rights, as defined by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), being observed?
- Is there sufficient humanitarian aid for their families?
- What about freedom of movement, the ability to work and move freely, and basic safety?
- What has happened to the families separated by his conflict?
- Are there any eye-witness testimonies from people who have escaped from the camps to freedom in Morocco that can detail life in the camps and provide insights into conditions there?

This report begins to answer those questions. There are refugees who have escaped and are ready to tell their stories. Over the past 30 years, thousands of Sahrawis have fled the Polisario camps for Morocco, Mauritania, the Canary Islands, Europe, and elsewhere. The **Moroccan American Center for Policy (MACP)** has spoken with hundreds of former refugees over the years who left the camps to resettle in Morocco, their traditional homeland.³

In January, 2008, MACP conducted a series of interviews to find answers to these questions. Open-ended interviews were held with 30 former refugees in Laayoune and Dakhla in southern Morocco. Most of those interviewed had been back in Morocco for less than six months and all had returned within the last year. Some had come back only days or weeks before the interview. The sample included men and women, old and young, former Polisario military and police officers, teachers, smugglers, "small business" people, and average everyday camp residents. Each person was interviewed individually; there were no group interviews. The interviews were done in a private setting. Questions were posed through an interpreter and each interview lasted on average about 75 minutes. Interviews were focused on their lives and their personal stories, not on their political views on the Western Sahara.

The interviews covered the following topics:

- Freedom to return to Morocco
- Means used to return to Morocco
- Reasons for wanting to leave the camps
- General freedom of movement issues
- Availability of humanitarian aid
- Availability of other basic food and non-food necessities
- General quality and conditions of life in the camp
- Attitudes about the Polisario leadership
- Access to information about the world outside the camps

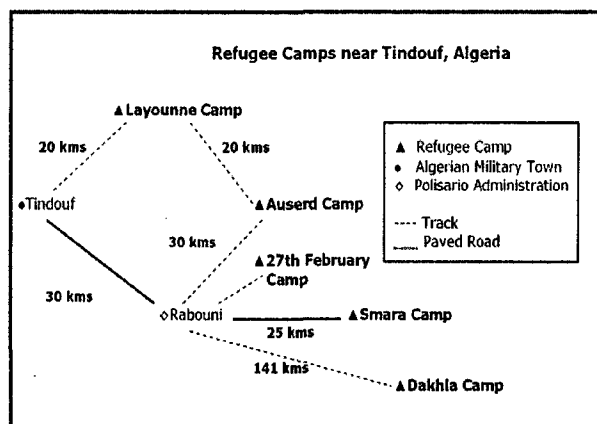
³ For example, 70 former refugees were interviewed by MACP in a series of group sessions in November 2006.

What follows is a description of the refugees' accounts about the harsh conditions they endured in the camps, the difficulties they faced when they tried to escape, and the toll on family members still held in the camps. Many of these stories have never been shared publicly before.⁴

The key finding shared by all those interviewed is that without exception the Polisario forbids the refugees to leave the camps and return to Morocco. They have no freedom of movement; they have no freedom of choice.

Refugee Life in the Tindouf Camps

No one really knows how many, but approximately 90,000 refugees are spread out among the Polisario controlled camps in the Tindouf desert region of southern Algeria. It is impossible to determine the exact number of inhabitants in these camps because for the last 30 plus years both Algeria and the Polisario Front have repeatedly refused to allow the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to conduct a census of the camps to establish the actual size of the population.⁵ Without a census, it is impossible to ensure that appropriate humanitarian aid is delivered to sustain the refugees. Also, as confirmed by many of those MACP interviewed as well as international reports, this lack of oversight makes it much easier for corrupt Polisario officials to sell the humanitarian aid on the black market in Algeria and neighboring Mauritania.



The following themes appeared over and over during the interviews as reasons why the refugees sought to leave the camps and seek a better life in Morocco:

- Inadequate food supplies for the family
- Poor educational opportunities
- Very few work opportunities
- Lack of or no money
- Dislike of Polisario leadership and bad governance
- Poor health care
- Belief that life would be better for them in Morocco

⁴ The identities of the interviewees as well as some dates and places have been concealed to protect the families of those interviewed who are still held in the Polisario-controlled refugee camps.

⁵ For more information, please visit the website of the US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (<http://www.refugees.org/countryreports.aspx?id=1978>)

- In general, difficult living conditions with no prospect for relief in sight
- Desire to rejoin family in Morocco – many of whom had fled the camps earlier
- Bad weather conditions (It is unbearably hot in the summer when most of those in the leadership and their close friends, family, and associates leave the camps for cooler areas. This is common knowledge according to those interviewed.)

Survival and Humanitarian Aid

Overall, daily life in the camps is largely occupied with the struggle to meet basic everyday needs. Humanitarian aid is delivered monthly and includes small rations of rice, lentils, flour, edible oils, a little sugar, and a few days supply of tea. During the course of the interviews, it became clear that **the humanitarian aid that is supposed to last for a month usually runs out and is quite insufficient.** Sometimes it stretches to two weeks, not much further. There are no fruits, vegetables, or meat included in the humanitarian aid supplies. These food staples must be purchased by camp residents either in the local camp markets (more expensive) or in Tindouf. All those interviewed reported that allocated humanitarian aid was grossly inadequate to sustain nutritional requirements, and that this aid had been progressively reduced over the previous two years.

Most of those interviewed confirmed that it is common knowledge that the Polisario leadership and their associates are stealing the humanitarian aid (both food and non-food) and selling it for their personal profit in the markets in Mauritania and Algeria. Former police officials, as well as admitted smugglers and average camp residents, confirm that the Polisario openly traffic stolen humanitarian aid, and many had witnessed this theft first-hand. Some of those interviewed even escaped the camps on the back of trucks carrying smuggled humanitarian aid to Mauritania.

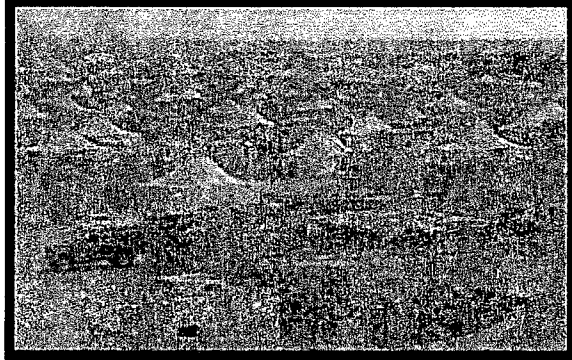
The numerous accounts of the Polisario's corruption of the humanitarian aid efforts further corroborated the findings from the 2006 investigation by the Inspectors General of the World Food Programme and the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights of mismanagement of humanitarian aid by the Polisario.⁶

It also became evident from the refugees' testimonies that **smuggling contraband materials through the Polisario controlled camps is big business.** They described a system in which the Polisario leadership and those with close ties to them are making substantial sums of money through contraband traffic. There are also other "small scale" smuggling operations that go on which are not directly connected to the Polisario leadership. The system survives through bribes for Polisario and Algerian law enforcement officials. This smuggling also includes human trafficking of sub-Saharan Africans being moved north for onward travel to Europe as illegal immigrants, and oil and gas, medicines, cigarettes, and humanitarian aid. (None of those interviewed admitted to knowledge of arms or

⁶ For more information, please see the Center for Individual Freedom's exclusive report "UN Mismanagement Plagues Aid Program in Western Sahara" (http://www.cfif.org/htdocs/freedomline/un_monitor/in_our_opinion/UN-Mismanagement-Plagues-Aid-Program-Sahara.htm)

drug trafficking through these networks). What is clear is that the Polisario leadership and its associates reportedly control most of this contraband traffic.

This culture of corruption and Polisario patronage is so pervasive in the refugee camps that it is threatening traditional Sahrawi tribal structures and societal customs and norms. Those interviewed describe the progressive development of a kind of "class system" in the camps which began in the late 1990's. The leadership and those associated with them are becoming the "wealthy" and "middle class" strata, with most camp residents being among the "have-nots", dependent on humanitarian aid and small enterprise activity to meet daily needs.



This disparity is becoming more visible as the leadership has the newest cars, color TVs, better housing, and the ability to vacate the camps during the height of the summer heat. There is also a common perception that being close to the leadership requires membership in the right tribe and fraction. Life is still tribal in the camps and former police officials report that their most common camp duty (other than collecting bribes, which they readily admit) is breaking up fights that have begun because of tribal disputes. **Those interviewed were uniformly critical of the Polisario leadership for its corruption, favoritism, and arrogance.**

So, with insufficient aid coupled with Polisario corruption, the refugee has become quite resourceful in order to make up for the difference between what they need and what they receive. Most of those interviewed said that an average family needs approximately US\$250-\$350 per month for basic food needs not covered by the humanitarian aid. However, the lack of a formal economy complicates this already difficult task. According to those interviewed, salaries are uncommon, even for police, military officials, and teachers. Those who are paid, are paid very small sums. This is particularly common among police officers who, lacking a salary, have created a system of eliciting bribes from smugglers to survive.

The interviews also uncovered other instances of how the refugees cope. Several took the difficult step of undertaking small enterprise market operations which required making difficult journeys to Tindouf or Mauritania to buy goods and then re-sell or trade the items to other camp refugees. Others set up small shops offering services to the refugees that were otherwise unobtainable.

Escape, Family Separation, and Contact with the Outside World

In general, people reported that life in the camps was extremely difficult. Although cell phones are available, the costs are quite high. Without cell phones, contact with the outside world for many is limited. This enforced separation from family members in Morocco is very hard on them since Sahrawi society is traditionally centered on kinship relationships.

Those interviewed said that the Polisario continues to tell people that life in Morocco is repressive and that they will be tortured, jailed, or worse if they return. According to accounts of those who have resettled in Morocco, the sacrifices made to return are worth the hardship because their lives are much better than what was expected. Most of those interviewed said few people, especially the younger generation, believed the Polisario's propaganda anymore, especially since they have access to information via cell phone or intermittent satellite television from Morocco that tells a different story.



Most of those interviewed said that they believed that nearly everyone, except the Polisario leadership and those who were close to them, would return to Morocco or elsewhere to be reunited with family if they were free to do so. The gap between the desire to return and making it happen is wide and dangerous.

Once the decision is made to flee the camps, the refugees told no one, not even close family members out of fear that the Polisario authorities would learn of their plans and put them in jail. During one interview, **a recent escapee from the camps said that he left without telling anyone because he knew of four people who were put in jail for a year for just talking about leaving the camps.** Additionally, according to one of the refugees, it is not possible to trust anyone in the camp since one of the best ways make money was to work as an informant for the Polisario.

Most refugees returned to Morocco through Mauritania using a variety of ruses to get out of the camps past fixed camp and border check points and roving Polisario and Algerian patrols. Some of those interviewed returned through the open desert to the Moroccan military defensive positions along the berm erected in the late 1980s to inhibit Polisario attacks inside Morocco from Polisario safe havens in Algeria. This is a dangerous route through minefields and **a couple who took this route was fired on by Polisario guards during their escape.**

A common ruse to exit the camps was to tell authorities at the camp entry/exit checkpoints or roving patrols that one was going to the countryside or to do business or visit a relative in Mauritania.

The trip itself is relatively expensive for camp residents. The cost runs on average about \$500 for the trip to Mauritania. Some had friends or relatives with transportation who would take them, but most said that the person driving the vehicle was unaware that their passengers intended to return to Morocco. Two adults in the sample (one with some, but not all of her children) decided to stay in Morocco during an official UNHCR family visit trip.⁷ Another mother interviewed is still trying to have her remaining small children in the camps returned to her in Morocco. Her husband still resides in the camps with his ailing parents and she reports that he agrees with her desire to bring the remaining children to Morocco. It is not known what happens to family members left in the camps when others choose to remain in Morocco.



Movement from one camp to another camp requires clearance from the Polisario authorities when leaving the camp, but this seems to be easily completed. A former policeman said they checked IDs against a "Wanted List" of names during the registration. A clearance is required before leaving.

There are Polisario police checkpoints at the exits and entrances in the camps. Movement from the camps to Tindouf in Algeria for shopping appears easy to do, with proper clearance, provided one has the means to do so. Movement from the camps out to the countryside also appears easy to do, though this also requires clearance when departing the camps. Movement from the camps to Mauritania previously required separate individual Polisario authorization papers until last summer (2007). A former Polisario police official reports that now only drivers of vehicles are required to obtain an official permission paper if the destination is Mauritania. Passengers must have their Polisario identification with them and persuade any police check that they are only going to Mauritania to visit relatives or do business. Mauritania does not require people to have a passport to enter if they are in possession of a Polisario identification document.

Some of our sample returned to Morocco through Mauritania using an individual authorization to visit Mauritania when that was required of everyone to do so, using some ruse or official connection to obtain the authorization. Others entered during the same period without permission to travel to Mauritania. Most of those in the sample who went to Mauritania without permission avoided Polisario checkpoints.

There is access to mobile phones, although it was clear that the expensive phone rates restrict frequent calling. There is also a fair amount of access to small black

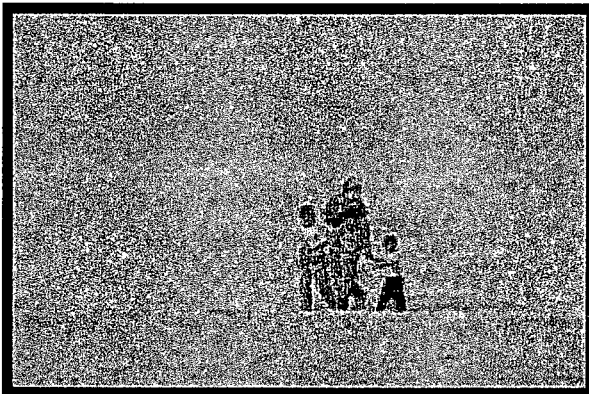
⁷ The UNHCR program provides for exchanges of family members on a limited scale via aircraft. The program is notoriously underfunded and the Polisario has imposed constraints on those participating. Since March 2004, more than 3000 family members have visited each other, and expansion of the program as a confidence building measure is on the agenda of the autonomy negotiations.

and white televisions while the wealthy have color TV. There are a few internet cafes in the camps, but access to some web pages is reportedly blocked. People do not have individual laptops or the means to connect to the internet outside the cyber cafes. People can see news from outside the camps including broadcasts from the regional channel in Laayoune, Morocco. However, even those with access to the limited technology must still be cautious when communicating with the outside world. During one of the interviews, **a former refugee explained that he hesitates to call his brother in the camps so that the Polisario will not know of his whereabouts and possibly punish the family he left in the camps.**

More Human Rights Concerns

The stifling human rights situation was best summarized by **one former refugee who simply didn't like the way of life or the lack of freedoms in the Tindouf camps. He tired of having no choices and being subject to go to jail for simply saying that he didn't like the Polisario.**

An interview with a former Polisario police officer revealed the existence of secret detention centers where political dissidents and others, either individually or in small groups are kept in holes dug into the ground,. The police officer said that these special facilities were not commonly known among camp residents or even among all police authorities. According to this officer, **one of the jails is merely a big hole in the ground with wooden planks over the hole, next to a hospital so no one can tell it's a jail. The guards bang on the planks constantly as punishment so the prisoners can't sleep.**



Another former police officer with firsthand knowledge of the human rights abuses confirmed that there is a special prison for unwed mothers, which corroborates what MACP interviewers had previously learned. **Unwed mothers and their children are detained in this special prison unless/until some man agrees to marry them or their family members admit her wrongdoing and agree to raise the child.** If

neither of these things occurs, the women are forced to raise their children in this secret prison. This former police officer said that the existence of this special prison is not commonly known and that he had never heard of it until he was assigned to duty there.

The situation is even worse for children in the camps because educational opportunities are limited and reportedly decreasing. According to interviews with two refugees who taught in the make-shift Polisario run "schools", it appears that, at most, less than 8,000 children are receiving what could be described as primary

and middle school education. According to the estimates of the two teachers, there are about 15 primary schools, one middle school, and no secondary schools. **One of the former refugees explained that when he was 6, he was taken away from his family and sent to military school where they trained him how to use weapons.** In addition, approximately 800 students are dispersed between Algeria, Cuba, and other locations for secondary and post-secondary education. Those who received advanced education, if they haven't defected to other countries, have little to no opportunities when they return to exercise any real "profession" or "livelihood" in the camps.

Messages for "America"

The single most often repeated item when asked what message they would like conveyed to Americans about life in the camps was that the situation needed to be brought to a quick resolution so that people in the camps could return to Morocco and be reunited with their families. Most of those interviewed also said that they believed that nearly everyone, except the Polisario leadership and those who were close to them, would return to Morocco or elsewhere to be reunited with family if they were free to do so.



POLISARIO Threats to Return to War **Hinder Ongoing UN Negotiations**

The Morocco American Center for Policy (MACP), a US-based NGO that supports strong ties between Morocco and the United States, is deeply concerned with recent hostile statements by the Polisario Front threatening war if they do not achieve full control of the Western Sahara – a clear contradiction to the goal of the ongoing UN-hosted negotiations aimed at a compromise political settlement to the conflict.

This drumbeat for war began in advance of the Polisario Front's "National Congress" which concluded on December 21, 2007. For example,

"Two main options will be proposed to the congress -- should we pursue peace talks or resume armed struggle to speed up the process?"

Were the provocative words stated by Mohamed Beissat, Ambassador to Algeria of the Polisario Front in an interview with *Reuters* newswire service. This theme was repeated in interviews and statements by Mr. Beissat and the Polisario's Secretary General Mohammed Abdelaziz before and during the Congress. Resolutions and reports from the Congress indicate that re-arming the Polisario's militias will take place while the negotiations go forward, creating a pall of uncertainty and tension among the negotiators.

The Polisario Front has been at war with Morocco in what is known as the Western Sahara since the 1970's. Historically affiliated with Morocco, the Western Sahara is a territory about the size of Colorado that had been occupied by Spain. When the Spanish withdrew in 1975, the Polisario Front, backed at the time by Algeria, Libya, and Cuba sought to control the region. However, Morocco, based on its long-standing ties to the area, opposed the Polisario in a war that lasted until the UN brokered a ceasefire in 1991. Despite periodic United Nations efforts at a settlement, the conflict remains unresolved. Unfortunately, one high price of the unresolved conflict is that since the mid 1970's tens of thousands of refugees have lived under the one-party authoritarian rule of the Polisario Front in camps in Algeria.

The Polisario's supporters in the UN, U.S., and the US Congress should not give them a free pass on these war-mongering statements. While Morocco is criticized from time to time for its need to improve its behavior, it seems sensible to remind the Polisario, and its sponsors in Algeria, that these threats can undo the years of efforts that made the negotiations possible.

The UN Secretary General and those members of the US Congress who support the Polisario must condemn in the strongest terms these threats to resume war. The Polisario should not continue to harbor delusions that independence can be obtained through obstinance and war. The stability of the region and of our ally Morocco should not be hostage to our energy reliance on Algeria, which continues its own destabilizing massive offensive arms purchases from Russia and elsewhere. Further, the Bush Administration, which has called Morocco's compromise proposal to resolve the problem in the Western Sahara "serious and credible" should also make clear to Algeria and the Polisario front that threats of war in a region already under an increasingly alarming attack from Al Queda extremists is clearly not what the United States considers responsible behavior in the war on terrorism.

Without a serious challenge to the statements by the Polisario Front, the consequences for progress during the negotiations scheduled for January 7-8 are dire. Too much is at stake. North Africa needs to address multiple economic and security concerns so that the broader region can thrive in the 21st century. The first step is to resolve this relic of the past in a realistic and practical way, not afflicted by resurgent threats to resume armed conflict, which only encourage terrorism and instability. The UN Security Council, the EU, and the U.S. must bring pressure on the Polisario Front through its supporters in Algeria, to shed the rhetoric and work seriously to end this humanitarian debacle in the Western Sahara.

MACP encourages the Bush Administration and the Polisario's supporters in Congress to distance themselves from the Polisario Front's threats, condemn the notion of war as a means to solve the Western Sahara conflict, remind Algeria and the Polisario that the negotiations are serious and an indicator of their commitment to resolve the conflict, and that all parties are expected to participate fully and in a spirit of compromise throughout the negotiations.

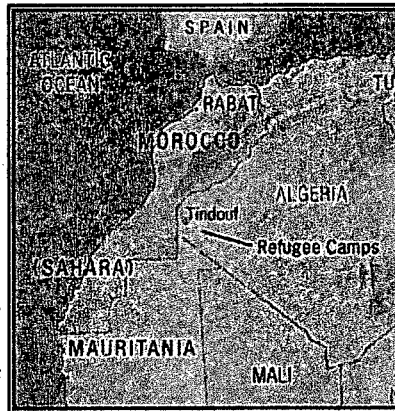
The Tindouf, Algeria Camps – Refugees or Hostages?

Tens of thousands of Sahrawi refugees live in harsh and inhospitable desert refugee camps in southwestern Algeria under the control of the Polisario Front and their sponsor, Algeria. **These refugees are not free to leave these camps and return to Morocco.** Instead, they are hostage to the political ambitions of the Polisario Front leadership and their supporters in Algeria. They are being deprived of adequate food, clothing, and medical supplies by the Polisario leadership that routinely steals much of this aid for sale on black markets in Algeria, Mauritania, and Mali. UN agencies have documented this chronic diversion of aid, yet the Polisario continues to ask for increased aid donations from concerned United Nations relief and refugee organizations, despite the acknowledged lack of any real accountability for the humanitarian assistance.

Below are vignettes of eight refugees who have managed to successfully flee the camps and return to Morocco within the last 18 months. Over the years, nearly 7000 refugees have fled the camps and their squalid conditions, human rights abuses, and the pervasive political repression of the Polisario Front that has run these camps through authoritarian rule for more than 30 years. Many thousands remain in the camps. How many no one knows for certain because the Algerian government and the Polisario Front have refused to allow a census of the

population to objectively validate the number of refugees.

These stories are a very small sample of thousands of similar testimonies from everyday people about broken families, thievery, abuse, political hypocrisy, and the continuing complicity of the international relief agencies in this tragedy.



We believe that it is time for the international community to insist that the international norms and conventions governing the rights of the refugees in the camps be respected by Algeria and the Polisario Front. We urge the United Nations Security Council, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the World Food Program to

accept their responsibilities and insist on ending this humanitarian crisis through concrete steps that address the lack of accountability in the camps.

We hope that the testimonies of these eight everyday but representative former refugees will encourage you to expose this situation and bring needed pressure on the international agencies and the Security Council to end this masquerade and protect the refugees. Only by insisting on full disclosure of the conditions in the camps, carrying out a census, and requiring accountability for humanitarian aid will their lives improve.

Recent Returnee Profiles



Naba Deddah El Meki was born in Morocco in 1966. Telling no one, including her closest family members, of her plans to flee the camps for fear that she would be prevented from leaving, she returned to Morocco with her 25 year old daughter in February 2008. Her mother, five sisters, and one brother still reside in the refugee camps in Algeria. Two other adult children are in school in Algeria but were not living in the camps when she and her oldest daughter fled to Morocco. She had lived in the camps since 1975. She was a district coordinator for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the refugees living in four separate neighborhoods of Smara refugee camp and has extensive first hand knowledge of the routine theft and sale for profit of this aid by the Polisario leadership and its close associates.

Naha Al Salek Sidi was born in Dakhla refugee camp in 1978 and returned to Morocco with her two infant children during a UN sponsored family visit program in January 2008. She told no one of her intention to remain in Morocco with her children when she departed on the UN family visit program for fear that she would not be allowed to go. Her husband, mother, three brothers, and a sister still reside in the camps. Naha Al Salek Sidi, who is handicapped, worked in the office of humanitarian assistance for the handicapped at the Polisario headquarters camp in Rabouni. She has extensive first hand knowledge of the theft and sale for profit by the Polisario of medical supplies and equipment provided by international humanitarian NGOs intended for the handicapped.



Salma Essalek and Said Abderahman – Salma and her husband Said were born in the refugees camps in 1983 and 1980 respectively. They returned to Morocco together in November 2007, taking the dangerous route over the desert through minefields and Algerian and Polisario patrols reaching the defensive military berm constructed by the Moroccan army. Salma is expecting a child. The young couple decided to flee the camps to ensure that their unborn child would not have to grow



up in the same miserable conditions that they had endured. In a pre-dawn departure, the couple engaged a smuggler to take them to the berm. They were dropped off several hundred meters from the berm when a Polisario patrol began to pursue them. A tense stand off between Moroccan soldiers at the berm and the armed Polisario patrol ensued, but eventually the soldiers were able to rescue the young couple and bring them to safety through the mine fields. Both have extensive family still in the camps, but neither told anyone of their planned flight to Morocco.

Recent Returnee Profiles



Al Afia Hammidi was born in Morocco in 1970 and was taken to the camps as a child along with three brothers. Her brothers previously had fled the camps and returned to Morocco. She returned to Morocco with three of her five small children in January 2008 on a UN sponsored family visit. Her husband knew that she intended to stay in Morocco and is currently caring for their two remaining small children in the camps. She has formally petitioned the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to repatriate her two remaining children to join her in Morocco. Her husband is in full agreement with this request as he also has aged parents to care for in the camps.

However, to date neither the UNHCR nor the Polisario Front has replied to her request. Despite the family's wishes, the two small children are still confined in the camps by the Polisario.

Brahim Al Selem was born in Morocco in 1974 and was taken to the camps as a child. He returned to Morocco with his sister and her two children in August 2007 with the aid of a smuggler in a truck carrying international humanitarian assistance supplies diverted from the refugees to black markets in Mauritania. His wife remains in the camps. He was previously arrested, a year before his eventual escape from the camps, for expressing openly his dissatisfaction with the Polisario Front regime and saying that he wanted to return to Morocco. He was jailed for two and a half months. He has first hand knowledge of the extensive theft of humanitarian aid, including medical equipment and supplies, and the routine practice of smuggling and bribery through which the Polisario leadership and its allies continue to profit. He also has first hand information about human rights abuses by Polisario authorities, including information about secret detention centers *and a prison compound for unwed mothers and their children*, which he saw first hand during the course of his work.



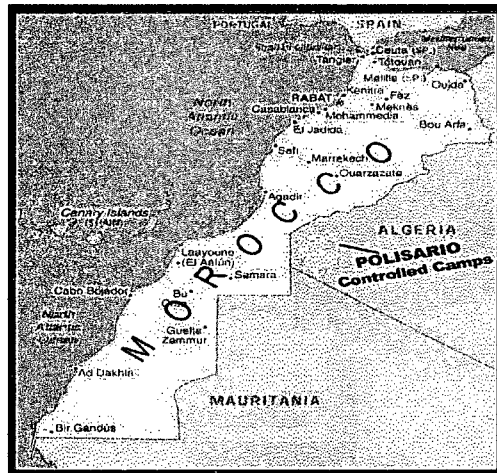
Moroccan American Center for Policy

Basic Findings from Interviews with Recent Returnees from Tindouf

Background:

This report was compiled from face-to-face interviews in the south of Morocco conducted in January 2008 by Robert M. Holley, former Foreign Service Officer and Executive Director of the Moroccan American Center for Policy (MACP); and Jordan Paul, Director of Government Affairs at MACP.

After four rounds of United Nations sponsored talks between Morocco and the Polisario Front about the future of the Western Sahara, prospects of a final settlement of this three decade old problem have not substantially improved. The major impediment to progress continues to be Algerian and Polisario refusal to embrace the repeated call from the Security Council for compromise and their insistence on a winner take all formula that has already failed and been largely abandoned by the Security Council and a succession of various United Nations negotiators. Failing that, the Polisario continues to threaten war rather than the give and take of a reasonable compromise political settlement. It remains to be seen whether the Security Council and its more important permanent members, including the United States, will show the resolve necessary to move Algeria and the Polisario Front away from their obstructionist approach to the talks.



In the meantime, the human dimension of this tragic situation remains largely ignored by the international community. Tens of thousands of refugees continue to languish in harsh desert conditions in camps outside Tindouf in southwest Algeria. These warehoused refugees have spent decades separated from their families who currently reside in Morocco. Neither are they free to simply leave the camps and return to Morocco if they so choose. Instead, they are kept as human hostages of the political ambitions of those who claim to represent them. They are denied adequate food supplies by a leadership that is clearly complicit in the sale for profit of the humanitarian relief that is intended for the refugees. Health, shelter, and clothing needs are in equally short supply for similar reasons and a third generation of children in the camps faces little prospect of a productive future so long as this conflict continues.

This information has been produced by the Moroccan American Center for Policy (MACP).

www.moroccanamericanpolicy.com

MACP is a registered agent of the Government of Morocco.

Additional information is available at the Justice Department in Washington, D.C.

It is impossible to determine the exact number of people living in these camps because for the last 30 plus years both Algeria and the Polisario Front have repeatedly refused to allow the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to conduct a census of the camps to establish the actual size of the population and thus ensure that appropriate humanitarian aid supplies are delivered to sustain the people living there. In addition, over the years, thousands of Sahrawis have fled the camps and made new lives for themselves in Morocco, Mauritania, the Canary Islands, Europe, and elsewhere.

Over the last several years, MACP personnel have spoken with hundreds of such people who have left the camps to resettle in their traditional homeland in Morocco. For example, 70 such former refugees were interviewed by MACP in a series of group sessions in November 2006.

In an effort to establish whether conditions in the camps have recently changed substantially, and whether it has become easier for people to leave the camps and return to Morocco if they so chose, we recently interviewed another 30 people, all of whom recently returned from the Polisario run camps.

The open-ended interviews were conducted in both Laayoune and Dakhla. Most of those interviewed had been back in Morocco for less than six months and all had returned within the last year. Some had come back only days or weeks before the interview. The sample included men and women, old and young, former Polisario military and police officers, teachers, smugglers, "small business" people, and average everyday camp residents. Each person was interviewed individually; there were no group interviews. The interviews were done in a private setting. Questions were posed through an interpreter. Each interview lasted on average about 75 minutes.

The same basic issues were covered in all the interviews. Time spent on the questions varied depending on the individual's depth of knowledge and willingness to share information on any given subject.

We did not solicit political views about how best to resolve the situation in the Sahara.

Basic subjects covered in the interviews included:

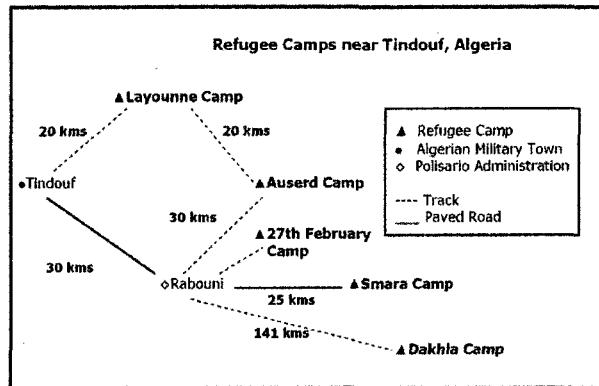
- Freedom to return to Morocco
- Means used to return to Morocco
- Reasons for wanting to leave the camps
- General freedom of movement issues
- Availability of humanitarian aid
- Availability of other basic food and non-food life necessities
- General quality and conditions of life in the camp.

- Attitudes about the Polisario leadership
- Access to information about the world outside the camps

Each interview was concluded by asking the person what message they would like to have conveyed to Americans about the situation in the camps.

Freedom to Return to Morocco:

- All those interviewed, without exception, said that it is forbidden to leave the camps to return to Morocco.
- Many reported that they told no one, not even close relatives, of their intentions to return to Morocco when they left the camps. Some said that they informed only their closest relatives but even that was rare among the sample.
- Without exception, everyone interviewed said they were afraid to tell anyone that they intended to return to Morocco for fear that the Polisario authorities would learn of their plans and put them in jail. Many added, "you cannot trust anyone in the camps." One individual outlined how one of the best ways to make money in the camps was to work as an informant for the Polisario. Most evidently did not trust even their own closest relatives with the information.



Means of Returning to Morocco:

- Most returned to Morocco through Mauritania using a variety of ruses and subterfuges to get out of the camps and past fixed camp and border check points and roving Polisario or Algerian patrols.
- Some of those interviewed returned to Morocco through the open desert to the Moroccan military defensive positions along the berm that was erected in the late 1980s to inhibit Polisario attacks inside Morocco from Polisario safe havens in Algeria. This is a dangerous route through minefields. One couple who took this route was fired on by Polisario guards during their escape attempt.
- A common ruse to exit the camps was to tell authorities at the camp entry/exit checkpoints or roving patrols that one might encounter that one was headed out to the countryside for a few days or to do business or visit a relative in Mauritania (see more below on this issue).
- The trips are relatively expensive for camp residents. The cost runs on average about \$500 for the trip to Mauritania. Some had friends or relatives with transportation who would take them, but most said that

the person driving the vehicle was unaware that their passengers intended to return to Morocco.

- Two adults in the sample (one with some, but not all of her children) decided to stay in Morocco during an official UNHCR family visit trip. One is trying to have her remaining small children in the camps returned to her in Morocco. Her husband still resides in the camps with his ailing parents and she reports that he agrees with her desire to bring the remaining children to Morocco.

Other Freedom of Movement Issues:

- Movement within the camps appears unrestricted.
- Movement from one camp to another camp requires clearance from the Polisario authorities when leaving the camp, but this seems to be easily completed. A former policeman said they checked IDs against a "Wanted List" of names during the registration. It is clear that a clearance is required before leaving.
- There are Polisario police checkpoints at the exits and entrances in the camps.
- Movement from the camps to Tindouf in Algeria for shopping appears easy to do, with proper clearance, provided one has the means to do so.
- Movement from the camps out to the countryside also appears easy to do, though this also requires clearance when departing the camps.
- Movement from the camps to Mauritania previously required separate individual Polisario authorization papers until last summer (07). A former Polisario police official reports that now only drivers of vehicles are required to obtain an official permission paper if the destination is Mauritania. Passengers must have their Polisario identification with them and persuade any police check that they are only going to Mauritania to visit relatives or do business.
- Mauritania does not require people to have a passport to enter if they are in possession of a Polisario identification document.
- Some of our sample returned to Morocco through Mauritania with an individual authorization to visit Mauritania during the period when this seems to have been required of everyone (using some ruse or official connection to obtain the authorization); but others did so in the same period without permission to travel to Mauritania. Most of those in the sample who went to Mauritania without permission when it was required said they avoided going through the official border crossing point.

Reasons for Leaving the Camps:

- Inadequate food supplies for the family
- Poor educational opportunities
- No work opportunities
- No money

- Dislike of Polisario leadership and bad governance
- Poor health care
- Belief that life would be better for them in Morocco
- In general, difficult living conditions with no prospect for relief in sight
- Desire to rejoin family in Morocco – many of whom had fled the camps earlier
- Bad weather conditions (It is unbearably hot in the summer when most of those in the leadership and their close friends, family, and associates leave the camps for cooler climes in Algeria. This is common knowledge among camp residents.)

Humanitarian Aid:

- All those in the sample reported that allocated humanitarian aid was grossly inadequate to sustain nutritional requirements, and that aid had been progressively reduced over the previous two years.
- Aid is delivered monthly and includes only small rations of rice, lentils, flour, edible oils, a little sugar, and a few days supply of tea. There are no fruits, vegetables, or meat included in the humanitarian aid supplies. These things must be purchased by camp residents either in the local camp markets (more expensive) or in Tindouf.
- Most in the sample said that an average family needs approximately \$250-\$350 per month to purchase food to meet nutritional needs not covered by the humanitarian aid.
- Most of those interviewed in the sample confirmed that it is common knowledge that the Polisario leadership and their associates are stealing the humanitarian aid (both food and non-food) and selling it for their personal profit in the markets in Mauritania, Algeria, and Mali. Former police officials, as well as admitted smugglers and average camp residents all confirm that the Polisario openly traffic stolen humanitarian aid, sometimes with detailed personal experiences to relate. Some even escaped the camps on the back of a truck carrying smuggled humanitarian aid to Mauritania.

General Quality and Conditions of Life in the Camp:

- In general, life in the camps seems largely occupied with the daily struggle to meet the everyday requirements of life. Given the chronic short ration of humanitarian assistance, camp residents must find a way to make enough money to purchase what is needed.
- Camp residents seem to have become increasingly resourceful in finding ways to “do a little business” to make some money. This seems mostly to involve small enterprise market operations – buying basic items in Tindouf or Mauritania for resale at a profit in the camps (food stuffs, clothes, medicines, cigarettes, etc).
- Salaries seem uncommon, even for police, military, and teachers. Some get paid small sums, others nothing at all.

- Smuggling is a big business. Those interviewed describe a system in which the Polisario leadership and those with close ties to them are making substantial sums of money through contraband traffic. Other "small scale" smuggling operations go on that are not directly connected to the Polisario leadership. Bribes for Polisario and Algerian law enforcement officials are necessary and commonplace. Smuggling includes human trafficking of sub-Saharan Africans being moved north for onward travel to Europe as illegal immigrants, and oil and gas, medicines, cigarettes, and humanitarian aid (no one admitted to knowledge of arms or drug trafficking through the same networks). The Polisario leadership and its associates reportedly control most of this contraband traffic.
- Because police salaries are uncommon but money is necessary to survive, the Police have become enforcers of lawlessness. Those interviewed describe a system in which the primary focus of the police was to elicit bribes from smugglers. Instead of trying to stop smugglers, the Polisario police enforced lawlessness so they could collect the bribe money necessary to survive.
- Those interviewed also describe the progressive development of a kind of "class system" in the camps. The leadership and those associated with them are becoming the "wealthy" and "middle class" strata, with most camp residents being among the "have-nots" dependent on humanitarian aid and small enterprise activity to meet daily needs. This disparity is becoming more visible as the leadership has the newest cars, color TVs, better housing, and the ability to vacate the camps during the height of the summer heat.
- There is a common perception that being close to the leadership requires membership in the right tribe and fraction. Life is still tribal in the camps and former police officials report that their most common camp duty (other than collecting bribes, which they readily admit) is breaking up fights that have begun because of tribal disputes.
- While tribal loyalties are still strong, interviewees admitted that this was changing as people with access to money were becoming more important than traditional tribal structures.
- In general, people reported that life in the camps was extremely difficult and that enduring enforced separation from family members in Morocco was very hard on them, since Sahrawi culture places a high value on family and kinship relationships as a foundation of society.
- Educational opportunities are limited and reportedly decreasing. According to interviews with two teachers, it appears that, at most, less than 8,000 children are attending primary and middle schools in the camps. There are about 15 primary schools, only one middle school, no secondary schools, and around 800 or so students are dispersed between Algeria, Cuba, and other locations. Access to secondary or university education is extremely limited. Those with a higher level of education generally are not able to exercise any profession in the camps. This seems to account for a high level of

frustration among those who have been sent abroad for an education to places like Cuba.

Special Human Rights Issues:

- A former police officer with firsthand knowledge of the situation confirmed that there is a special prison for unwed mothers. This corroborates what MACP interviewers had previously learned. Unwed mothers and their children are detained in this special prison unless/until some man agrees to marry them or their family members admit her wrongdoing and agree to raise the child. If neither of these things occurs, the women are forced to raise their children in this secret prison. The former police officer said that the existence of this special prison is not commonly known and that he had never heard of it until he was assigned to duty there.
- A former Polisario police officer with firsthand knowledge of the situation confirmed the existence of secret detention centers where political dissidents and others are kept in holes dug into the ground, either individually or in small groups. The police officer said that these special facilities were also not commonly known among camp residents or even among all police authorities.

Contact With the Outside World:

- There is access to mobile phones, although expensive phone rates mean that calls outside the camp area are not an everyday affair. There is also a fair amount of access to small black and white televisions (the wealthy have color TV). There are a few internet cafes in the camps, but access to some web pages is reportedly blocked. People do not have individual laptops or the means to connect to the internet outside the cyber cafes. People can see news from outside the camps, including broadcasts from the regional television channel from Laayoune in Morocco.

Attitudes About the Polisario:

- Those interviewed were uniformly critical of the Polisario leadership for its corruption, favoritism, and arrogance.
- Those interviewed said that the Polisario continued to try to persuade people that life in Morocco was repressive and that if they returned to Morocco they would be tortured, jailed, or worse. However, most of those interviewed said few people, especially the younger generation, believed such propaganda anymore.

Message for Americans:

- The single most often repeated item when asked what message they would like conveyed to Americans about life in the camps was that the situation needed to be brought to a quick resolution so that people in the camps could return to Morocco and be reunited with their families.
- Most of those interviewed said that they believed that nearly everyone, except the Polisario leadership and those who were close to them, would return to Morocco or elsewhere to be reunited with family if they were free to do so.



<http://www.usnews.com/blogs/letters-to-the-editor/2008/4/30/islamic-society-in-morocco.html>



Islamic Society in Morocco

April 30, 2008 02:49 PM ET

"Can Women's Rights Coexist With the Tenets of Islamic Law?" [usnews.com] got it partly right: "to veil or not to veil" is hardly the question, but he failed to mention the landmark progress achieved for women in Morocco.

Not only did King Mohammed VI's proposals emerge after considerable public discussion among many diverse elements of Morocco's civil society, they passed Parliament with the support of a broad coalition of members, including the Islamist PJD party. Directly to the author's question of compatibility of Islamic and universal values, every one of Morocco's reforms was grounded in Koranic texts specifically to demonstrate that the accordance of equal rights to women is compatible with Islam. This was a triumph not only for Morocco, but for women everywhere in the Muslim world, and serves as a model for those who seek to accomplish in their own countries what Morocco has shown to be possible. With respect to the response to 9/11 "from Morocco to Indonesia" ["Why Did So Many Muslims Seem to Celebrate 9/11?" usnews.com], it should be noted that the Moroccan King immediately convened an enormous solidarity service in the cathedral in Rabat. Moroccans have no sympathy for Osama bin Laden, themselves having been subjected to a bloody terrorist attack in Casablanca in May 2003. That tragic event precipitated nearly a million Moroccans pouring immediately into the streets to protest such barbaric behavior, and youth groups from the nation's poorest neighborhoods led the way carrying signs of a red Hand of Fatima that read "hands off my country." Articles that treat the entire Arab-Muslim world as a monolith do not contribute to our understanding of this diverse set of countries and peoples. Rather, such pieces damage our ability to understand each other by reinforcing the inaccurate misconceptions held by both sides.

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Letters to the Editor

Morocco and Sahrawis

January 25, 2008

The article "Terror attacks press N. Africa to end civil war" (World, Jan. 17) featured a number of inaccuracies, a key one implying that the Polisario Front represents 270,000 Sahrawis. Sahrawis are indigenous not only to Morocco, but also to Mauritania, Mali and Algeria, and they have no single voice representing their diverse interests. At most, the self-selected Polisario Front — led for more than three decades by the same unelected militants — holds hostage some tens of thousands of refugees confined to camps in Algeria who have no real opportunity in choosing who represents them, nor any opportunity to freely choose whether to continue to live under Polisario authority or leave.

The situation is much brighter for the thousands of Sahrawis who live in the Moroccan portion of the Western Sahara. As proof of their freedom, in the recent internationally monitored September 2007 legislative elections, Sahrawis in Morocco turned out in unprecedented numbers — higher than in any other region in Morocco — and freely elected their own representatives. In addition, Sahrawis in Morocco move about freely, are active in civil society and build futures for their families — freedoms that are denied to their fellow Sahrawis by the Polisario Front in the Tindouf camps of southern Algeria.

Furthermore, it is a tragedy — particularly for those Sahrawis whose lives hang in the balance — that the Polisario Front's continuing obstinance and threats of a new war hinder the efforts of Morocco, the United Nations and others in the international community who are working diligently to find a peaceful, compromise political solution to the Western Sahara conflict.

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<http://www.washingtontimes.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080319/EDITORIAL/835237903/1013/EDITORIAL>

Article published Mar 19, 2008

The Sahara dispute

March 19, 2008

By Robert M. Holley - The United Nations has reached a critical crossroads in its effort to foster a more stable, secure and prosperous North Africa. However, prospects have not improved following the fourth round of the U.N.-sponsored negotiations to resolve a long-standing dispute over the Western Sahara. Without a more serious effort by the Security Council and its permanent members, including the United States, it is difficult to predict anything other than continued stalemate in this three-decade-old problem which continues to keep tensions in the region high and prevent closer cooperation.

Not only does this dispute continue to threaten the territorial integrity of Morocco, America's closest ally in the Arab world, but it also inhibits more productive regional cooperation in North Africa where al Qaeda is increasingly profiting from the local instability to secure new and more deadly footholds.

Morocco, upon urging by the United States and others, has embraced the international call for compromise by proposing a sweeping autonomy plan for the region. When this proposal was put forward in April 2007, Washington described it as "serious and credible" and encouraged the disputing parties involved — including Morocco, Algeria and Algeria's client separatist group, the Polisario Front — to adopt Morocco's initiative as the basis for negotiating a compromise political solution.

The Moroccan proposal is a solid framework that allows for greater self-determination and local self-governance. As a part of the compromise, Morocco would control the symbolic trappings of national sovereignty as well as the Western Sahara's borders, national defense and foreign policy. Nearly all other aspects of daily life in the territory would be governed by autonomous, separate and freely elected legislative, executive and judicial authorities.

Allowing locals to exercise broad control over their jurisdiction will provide the foundation for an empowered and peaceful region. The main impediment to achieving this peace is the Polisario's continued lack of willingness to negotiate and its threats to return to war unless its own already failed solution is imposed by the Security Council.

Algeria insists that the concerned population of the region must have the right of "self-determination." But this is little more than a ruse to conceal Algeria's preference for a solution that would dismember one of America's closest allies in the Arab world and advance Algeria's own ambitions in the region. Algeria is surely aware that international law, custom and practice recognize the establishment of autonomous regions as a legitimate expression of the principle of self-determination, though it nevertheless continues to speak out as though the only option for independence is credible.

The Bush administration, like the Clinton administration before it, has consistently called for a compromise political solution to this problem. Additionally, Congress has expressed strong bipartisan support for the Moroccan initiative in a letter signed by 173 members, including nearly the entire current leadership of both parties.

More than a dozen leading former foreign and defense policy officials and experts — including Madeleine Albright, Frank Carlucci, Tom Daschle, Wesley Clark and Ben Gilman — have also backed the accord. However, the Bush administration has thus far failed to take the fullest advantage of this widespread bipartisan support to call for a firmer Security Council approach to the negotiations.

The Bush administration needs to act with greater resolve to advance an initiative that it has itself promoted as the only reasonable way forward. The United States needs to make clear, both in public and in private, to both Algeria and the Polisario Front that American support for a compromise political solution to the problem in the Sahara is a policy decision endorsed by both Republicans and Democrats, and that now, not later, is the time to embrace a future for the region based on compromise and cooperation, not confrontation and threats of war.

Robert M. Holley is executive director of the Moroccan American Center for Policy.